k Dickson G-S (1929-47) 1951 fill 1 Kuwait
Bedouins 1434

114 sickness amongst camels, sheep and so forth, and answer questions
128 on a hundred subjects. Were strangers to drop in, the women and children would discreetly disappear, but the real valuable and pleasant evenings were those when we were *en famille*, so to speak, and outsiders were neither present nor expected.

115 The following made up our family at Abu Sa'ud's camp, as it was
592 called, in the *barr* (desert):

Salim al Muzaiyin—the head of our Badawin family (Mutairi).
Maziad—a Dhafir tribesman (assistant to Salim), and a fine example of a desert fighting man.
Dhuwaihi—'Azmi* (Mutawwah), a blind old man and leader of the family prayers.
Hamud—a lad of sixteen, Salim's nephew.
Falih—'Azmi camel herdsman and brother of Dhuwaihi.
Nasir—'Azmi shepherd.
Swailim—'Azmi camel-herd.
Amaha—wife of Salim, our hostess (a Shammariyah).
Maneira—Salim's sister.
Hussa—Salim's daughter (fifteen years old).
Wadha—Dhuwaihi's daughter (fourteen years old).
Dghaima—Maziad's daughter (mother was dead).
Adhaiya—Dhuwaihi's daughter.
Marzúk—negro slave boy (died 1933).
Mabrúk—negro slave boy (aged three in 1934).
Hawaiya—Dhuwaihi's wife (seldom seen).
Dhuwaihi's three infants, Falih, Kharmit and Bibi.

Of the above the following deserve more detailed mention:

Salim al Muzaiyin.—A fine, thick-set, good type of Badawin—of the Muzaina family, a semi-nomad Mutairi. Head of the clan is his brother Ibrahim al Muzaiyin, at one time intimate companion, friend and standard-bearer of the great Shaikh Mubárak of Kuwait and hero of a dozen tribal battles and a hundred raids. Ibrahim left the service of the present shaikh three years ago, as times were bad in Kuwait, and removed to Riyadh, where he now enjoys a comfortable stipend from Bin Sa'ud. Salim, who is now the head of the house in Kuwait, is widely respected for his honesty, stability and knowledge of country from Kuwait to Riyadh and Hufuf. He visits Bin Sa'ud's capital regularly twice a year, to see his elder brother, and generally is *persona grata* with the King as with Ibn

* Singular of 'Awazim.

h Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 341 3 Kuwait
Bedouins 1434

A Badawin Wife

Chap. I

Subah. A most useful man to have, and a good man in a right place. He is a relative of Ibrahim ibn Juma'a, Ibn Sa'ud's major domo in charge of the entertainment of Badawin guests in Riyadh. Being a Murairi tribesman, Salim is a particularly useful man to have for work in the desert, where Murair tribesmen commonly roam.

Maqiad.—A Dhafir Badawin of Juwasim origin. Very useful, hardy and honest; a widower till 1934, when he married a Murairi woman. He bought her for two she-camels and 100 rials, and is still paying off his debt. He is exceptionally valuable when Dhafir tribesmen are met with, as he insures the camp against raids and robbery by his fellow-tribesmen.

Dhuwaihi, the blind Mutawwah or priest, has much influence with his tribe and, like Maqiad, insures that the 'Awazim tribe is friendly disposed. He leads the prayers, and marries those desiring matrimony. A rather dear old man.

Swailim.—A fine upstanding 'Azmi warrior, full of camel lore, and as hard as nails, assists Maqiad with the camels: a remarkable youth whose tracking, finding of lost camels, birds' nests and *fuguk* (truffles) for the camp are concerned.

Amongst the women, pride of place must go to Amsha (or Ansha, to give her her Shammari name), the gentle-eyed, sweet-natured and contralto-voiced Shammari wife of Salim. Always tidy, clean and attractive, and a mine of information in matters of desert folklore, names of herbs, flowers and the manners and customs of her people, the Tumán section of the Sinjára Shammar. She was brought up in Hail or its vicinity, and came to Kuwait as a girl of fifteen in 1921 (*sanat al Jakrak*). She is a splendid cook and a real companion to her husband. She has had seven children, all of whom died in infancy except Hussa, her daughter. The latter is now fifteen years old and of marriageable age. A strong, thick-set and particularly attractive Badawin lass, Hussa does most of the tent work for her mother, weaves tent strips and *gatas* (dividing curtains for the tent) in her spare time, and daily goes out to cut firewood with her inseparable friend and companion, little Wadha, the particularly pretty daughter of old Dhuwaihi. Neither girl ever seems to tire, though occupied all day with some job or other. The whole charm of the family and my camp would disappear were Amsha, Hussa and Wadha to come to any harm.

At 'Id and in the strictest privacy of the closed tent, little Wadha

h Dickens G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kowali
Brokenins MJ4

115 and Hausa, decked out in their best frocks, have many times given my
892 wife and myself rare pleasure, by loosing their hair and dancing before us with graceful movement of head, hair and body.

One can only think of Maneira, as the maker of the *lalwa*, with the early morning (5 a.m.) *rag-rag-rag* sound of her gourakin, hanging on the tripod, as she swung it backward and forward to the tune of her *lalwa*-making songs. She was also the camp's expert fortune-teller. A description of her methods and skill will be given elsewhere (see Chapter XLI).

L. Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI I Kuwait
Bedouins MN

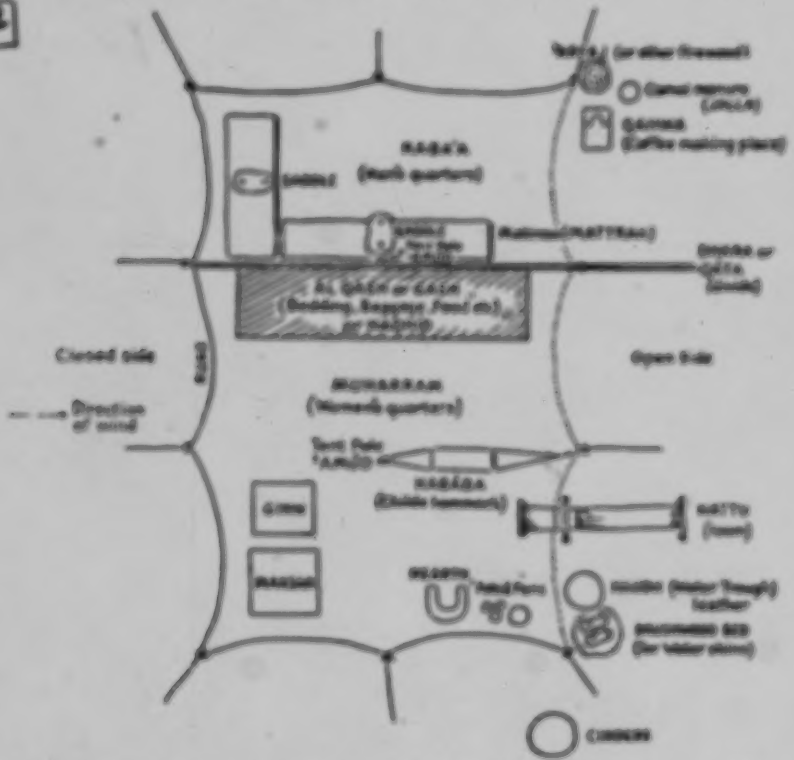
302. The number of tent ropes which support a tent in front and rear depend on the number of poles the tent has. Opposite each pole there will be two ropes, one in front and one behind, so that a tent of three poles will have six ropes (three on either side). Apart from these front

WELL-TO-DO, TWO-POLED BADAWIN TENT

(PLAN)

NOTE.—In Eastern Arabia the *Rahu's* (the men's portion of the tent) is always at the eastern end.

In a stone or mud house the men's portion is known as Al Diwaniyah.



and rear ropes, the two ends of the tents are kept stretched out taut by six other ropes, three at each end.

On the reverse side of each tent and stretching well round so as to shut in the two open ends, and with enough material to spare to close them at night from the front, are two long stretches of cloth known as

b Dickson G-S (1929-47) 1951 Bd 1 Kuwait
Bedouin Life
Ma'adan

582 It would, of course, be practically impossible for an Englishman,
591 even were he a convert to Islam, to marry a girl of a good Sharif Arab tribe. If such a thing were permitted, he would never be allowed to take the girl away from the tribe, and he himself would have to adopt a nomad existence, and settle down with the girl's parents.

619 In the above notes I have not referred to the tribes of Iraq. Their main Bedawin tribes, namely 'Anizah, Shammar and Dhafir are all Sharif tribes, but their settled tribes, known as Ashaiyir (singular: Ashiri) are half marsh tribes (Ma'adan) or have their origin in some pure desert tribe of Arabia, such as Zubaid, Rabiah, etc. Nevertheless, because they have become settled and cultivate the soil, the desert man to-day tolerates no inter-marriage with even the best of them.

• 592 A few technical terms denoting various family relationships may here be discussed, for they throw light on the Bedawin social system.

AHL. (or Ál.)

[619] (a) Many tribes or sub-tribes have the prefix Ál put before them, when they are referred to, example Ál Murra, Ál Ruwala. This should not be mistaken for the article *al*.

Ál is like the term "Beni", e.g. Beni Khalid, Ál Khalid.

(b) Ahl is the common term used to represent a man's people or kin. You ask a Bedawin *Fi'ain ahlak?* (Where are your folk?), he will answer, *Naqda fi fulan fulan makan* (They are camped in such and such a place). In short, the word is commonly understood to mean a man's wife, sisters, children, father, mother and any relation who may be camped with him.

592 A man says *Ya 'Ayali* when addressing his sons or his family
601 as a whole. He will also say *Kaif hál al 'Ayal?* when enquiring after
551 the health of another person's children and family generally.

The term *ahl al bait* denotes also the wife of the tent-dweller, and like *raijat al bait*, the mistress of the house. It is not commonly used.

The mistress of the tent is *Um al 'ayal* (mother of the children) to her husband or others, or she may be addressed as "Um Su'ud", "Um Hussa", "Um Badr", etc. She is rarely called by her own personal
[574] name. A guest should certainly refer to her as mother of so and so if he were on sufficiently good terms to ask after his host's wife at all. A wife calls her husband "Rai al Bait" as well as by his proper name.

L Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

576 A Badawin wanting to ask after the lady of the house and not knowing
592 his host very well, will often say, *Kaif hál illi wardkum?* (How is the
601 person behind you?). This is polite and permissible.
551 Of course, should a man live in his father's tent, he never speaks of his *ahl al bait*, even though he is married and has children. He and his family belong to the *ahl* of his father. If the father dies and his married sons still remain with their families in his, the father's tent, it, the tent, is known as the tent of the children of So-and-So—*Bait aulád fulan*. The *ahl al bait* in these circumstances is either the dead man's old wife (their mother), or the wife who has charge of the tent.

628 There is another application of the word *ahl*. If you want to indi-
613 cate the inhabitants of a certain tribal area, such as the Mutair of the Summán country, you can use the expression "Ahl al Summán", "Ahl al Suda", i.e. the inhabitants of the Summán, or of the Suda, meaning those who have a right to those places and live there.

On 11th August, 1935, in discussing this matter with Shaikh 'Ubaid al Mutragga al Harri of the Diyalhh section of the Mutair, he explained to me that the importance of this *ahl* idea lay in the root question of who would have to exact vengeance for a man, if he were murdered or killed (war or a *faid*, of course, excluded). Someone, he said, must follow up the murderer and kill him. The duty of doing this devolves on any or all of a man's *ahl*. A man's *ahl* consists of his own living descendants, for three generations, and includes also his ascendants to the third generation. That is to say, his sons, grandsons and great-grandsons; also his father, grandfather and great-grandfather, and their other descendants.

An *ahl*, added Shaikh 'Ubaid al Mutragga, protects a man from injustice, and must also be prepared to suffer for his guilt.

BANI 'ÁM

615 The terms (1) Bani 'Ám, (2) Walad 'Ám, (3) Bint 'Ám are some
582 of the expressions most commonly heard and daily used amongst the Badawin.

The 'Ajman and the Ál Murra tribes are Bani 'Ám, or 'Amam for instance, and the Walad 'Ám only takes as bride his Bint 'Ám (first cousin), unless he specifically decides to free her from the duty of marrying him.

411 band and all wore the distinctive carnelian-
[151] studded dagger, and one and all impressed
me as virile, reckless and uncontrolled, but
701 humorous and friendly. While we sat among
621 them talking there was a sudden stir, for they
had noticed a dozen mounted Arabs approach-
ing rapidly across the dunes. Then someone
recognized one of the camels and they re-
laxed. These camels were stretched out and
travelling very fast, yet were urged to even
greater efforts by the wild yells of their riders.
They were the scouts, sons of sheikhs and the
very pick of the tribe, who set out each dawn
to scour the surrounding desert, keen-eyed for
the tracks of strangers. Lithe, hard-bodied
and alert, these lads rode their splendid beasts
with effortless mastery. They had heard the
firing and, thinking the camp attacked, had
ridden back to help.

621 Scattered upon the dunes around us were
592 small black tents, round which naked infants
romped, while dark-clad women moved about
gathering sticks and tending herds of goats.
Sometimes a family changed its site, for,
though fear of raiders had imposed upon
them the need to keep together, their restless
nomad instincts drove them to constant move-
ment within the wide confines of the camp.
Such short migrations provided an interesting
sight as they moved slowly past. The children
drove the camels, laden with tents, cooking-
pots, watering-troughs and ropes, the simple
requirements of their life; while the Bedu
mothers and the virgin beauties of the tribe
rode in the slow swaying camel-litters.

574 That evening they feasted us on meat and,
after the camel herds had drifted in at dusk,
brought us great frothing bowls of milk, the
nectar of the Arabs. The night was filled with
the haunting sounds of an Arab camp—the
ceaseless restless moaning of camels, the bark-
ing of dogs, the rise and fall of Arab voices
from their gathering-places round the fires,
and sometimes the distant harmony of song.
312 Next morning when the sun was warm we
drove our camels across the sandy plain to
water at the well, which is situated close
under high limestone cliffs on the northern
401 edge of the valley. A few Arabs had already
312 arrived and were fastening their pulleys to the
scaffolding around the well. It is over 200 feet
in depth and stone-lined, a monument to
some forgotten people in the dim past. At the
deep wells in the Najd the Arabs use their

P 398(B) [TEXT CONTINUES ON P 400(A)--ANALYST